

ADDRESS

OF THE

GREAT STATE CONVENTION

OF

FRIENDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION,

ASSEMBLED AT THE CAPITOL IN

CONCORD, JUNE 12, 1828,

WITH THE

Speech of Mr. Bartlett,

IN REPLY TO THE CHARGES WHICH HAVE BEEN MADE AGAINST

MR. ADAMS.

CONCORD:

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

1828.

The National Republican Ticket.



FOR PRESIDENT.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

RICHARD RUSH.

FOR ELECTORS.

GEORGE SULLIVAN, *of Exeter,*
SAMUEL QUARLES, *of Ossipee,*
SAMUEL SPARHAWK, *of Concord,*
WILLIAM BIXBY, *of Francestown,*
NAHUM PARKER, *of Fitzwilliam,*
THOMAS WOOLSON, *of Claremont,*
EZRA BARTLETT, *of Haverhill,*
EPHRAIM H. MAHURIN, *of Columbia.*

GREAT CONVENTION

OF THE

FRIENDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

At a Convention of Citizens of New-Hampshire from the different parts of the State, holden at Concord, on the 12th day of June, 1828, pursuant to previous notice : The Hon. CLEMENT STORER, of Portsmouth, called the meeting to order. The Convention then proceeded to the choice of a Chairman, and the Hon. ANDREW PEIRCE, of Dover, was elected. SAMUEL D. BELL, of Chester, and WILLIAM H. Y. HACKETT, of Portsmouth, were chosen Secretaries.

On motion of Hon. William Plumer, Jr. of Epping,

Resolved, That a committee of three from each county in this State, be nominated by the chair, to recommend suitable persons to be supported as candidates for Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, at the coming election.

Whereupon the Hon. Langley Boardman, of Portsmouth ; Hon. John W. Parsons, of Rye ; Oliver W. B. Peabody, Esq. of Exeter ; Hon. Daniel Hoit, of Sandwich ; Peter Clark, Esq. of Gilmanton ; John Wingate, Esq. of Wakefield ; Hon. Hall Burgin, of Allenstown ; John Farmer, Esq. of Boscawen ; James Underwood, Esq. of Pittsfield ; John Stevens, Esq. of Mason ; Robert Read, Esq. of Amherst ; Stephen Wheeler, Esq. of New-Ipswich ; Hon. Elijah Belding, of Swansey ; Levi Chamberlain, Esq. of Fitzwilliam ; Hon. Jotham Lord, of Westmoreland ; Dr. Josiah Richards, of Claremont ; Joseph Nichols, Esq. of Springfield ; Jacob S. Gould, Esq. of Washington ; Samuel Burnham, Esq. of Rumney ; James Wallace, Esq. of Canaan ; Timothy Kenrick, Esq. of Lebanon ; Adino N. Brackett, Esq. of Lancaster ; William Farrar, Esq. of Lancaster ; and Barker Burbank, Esq. of Shelburne, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. Christie, of Dover,

Resolved, That a committee of five be nominated by the chair, to prepare and submit an Address to the people of this State, and to prepare and report resolutions expressive of the views of this Convention.

Whereupon the Hon. Salma Hale, of Keene; Hon. Clement Storer, of Portsmouth; Hon. William Plumer, Jr. of Epping; Hon. Joshua Darling, of Henniker; Hon. James Bartlett, of Dover, were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. Christie, of Dover,

Resolved, That this Convention now adjourn to six o'clock this evening.

At six o'clock, the Convention met according to adjournment.

Mr. BOARDMAN, of Portsmouth, from the committee appointed to report suitable persons to be supported as Electors of President and Vice-President, reported the following gentlemen to compose the

ADMINISTRATION ELECTORAL TICKET:

Hon. GEORGE SULLIVAN, of Exeter,
 Hon. SAMUEL QUARLES, of Ossipee,
 SAMUEL SPARHAWK, Esq. of Concord,
 WILLIAM BIXBY, Esq. of Frankestown,
 Hon. NAHUM PARKER, of Fitzwilliam,
 Hon. THOMAS WOOLSON, of Claremont,
 Hon. EZRA BARTLETT, of Haverhill,
 Hon. CALEB KEITH, of Wentworth.

On motion of Mr. DAVENPORT, of Portsmouth, it was unanimously resolved, that said report be accepted.

Mr. HALE, of Keene, from the committee appointed to prepare resolutions expressive of the views of this Convention, and also to prepare an Address to the Citizens of New-Hampshire, reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, as the sense of this Convention, that the prudent and enlightened policy of the present Administration of the General Govern-

ment, justly entitles it to the approbation and support of the people of this state.

Resolved, as the sense of this Convention, that, reposing entire confidence in the talents, integrity, and patriotism of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, President of the United States, we respectfully, but earnestly, recommend him to the people of this state, for re-election to that office.

Resolved, that the nomination of RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania, as Vice-President of the United States, meets the approbation of this meeting; and that he be supported as a suitable candidate for that office.

The resolutions having been read, the Convention was addressed in an eloquent and argumentative speech by the Hon. ICHABOD BARTLETT, and also briefly addressed by the Hon. THOMAS WHIPPLE, Jr.

On motion of Mr. KEITH, the Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

The Address was then read to the Convention, and unanimously adopted.

On motion of Mr. MARCH, of Eaton,

Resolved, That when the Convention adjourn, it shall be to to-morrow, at 12 o'clock at noon.

The Convention then adjourned.

Friday, June 13.

The Convention met according to adjournment.

On motion of Mr. CHRISTIE, of Dover,

Resolved, That the Address and Resolutions, adopted last evening, be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and be published in all the papers in this state, friendly to the administration.

Resolved, That a Committee of two from each county, to be nominated by the chair, be appointed to cause to be published, in pamphlet form, and circulated in this state, fifteen thousand copies of the Address and Resolutions adopted last evening, together with such parts of the speeches then delivered as may be procured.

Whereupon, Messrs. Bell of Portsmouth, Tucker of Derry, Perkins of Dover, Emerson of Gilmanton, Bartlett of Concord, Chase of Warner, Wallace of Milford, Sawyer of Mont-Vernon, Hale of Keene, Belding of Swansey, Lovell of Charlestown, Smith of Grantham, Poole of Hanover, Russell of Plymouth, Brackett of Lancaster, and Burbank of Shelburne, were appointed said committee.

The Hon. CALEB KEITH then rose, and adverting to the circumstance that no one of the Candidates nominated for Electors resided in the county of Coos, declined being a candidate, for that reason. He expressed his fervent wishes for the success of the great cause of the people, and his determination to support it with his whole heart; but believed that the selection of a candidate in the county of Coos, would tend to promote harmony of feeling, and greater unity of exertion at the polls.

On motion of Mr. BARTLETT, of Concord, the committee yesterday appointed to nominate Electors, were requested to report a suitable candidate in place of the Hon. CALEB KEITH, who has declined.

The Committee, having re-considered the subject, reported the Hon. EPHRAIM H. MAHURIN as a candidate for Elector, in place of the Hon. CALEB KEITH.

Which report was unanimously accepted.

On motion of Mr. MARCH, of Eaton, the Convention was then dissolved.

ANDREW PEIRCE, *Chairman*.

SAM. D. BELL,

WM. H. Y. HACKETT,

} *Secretaries*.

ADDRESS
OF THE
CONVENTION OF FRIENDS OF THE ADMINISTRATION
TO THE
PEOPLE OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

The convention of your fellow citizens, assembled at Concord, for the purpose of agreeing upon candidates to be supported for the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States, and for nominating suitable persons as Electors of said officers, deem it their duty to state to you the motives by which they are actuated. They cannot ask your concurrence in the course they recommend unless you approve those motives, nor unless you are convinced that the course pointed out will be most conducive to the good of our common country. They place no reliance but upon that candor and intelligence which have ever distinguished the citizens of this favored republic.

On this occasion, they appeal, in a more especial manner, to your reason and your patriotism. They beseech you to consider the importance of the question, thus submitted, by our laws and constitution, to your decision,—a question submitted in this manner to the decision of no other people upon earth,—and to divest yourselves of every feeling but love of country, and of every motive but zeal for the public good.

The Convention unanimously recommend, as a candidate for the office of President, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS: he was born and has lived within the circle of your observation: he has sustained the ordeal of a community, distinguished before all others for its virtue and intelligence. Had he a stain upon his private character, that stain would have been found, and would have been exposed to every eye. None has ever been discovered; you cannot be deceived on this point: every one of you, whatever part you may have taken, must yield to the conviction, that his private character stands unimpeached and unimpeachable.

To such a community as we now address, it is needless to remark, that an unblemished private character, should be considered indispensable, in a candidate for the office of chief magistrate, over a virtuous people. It cannot be that you have so soon forgotten the principles of our puritan forefathers : it cannot be that you will fail to regard what they regarded as a first and essential qualification : it cannot be that you will hesitate to give great—very great—weight to this consideration, in deliberating on the relative fitness of opposing candidates. Place virtue on high, and it will shine over the whole land, sustaining and encouraging the good, and alluring the bad from the paths they have chosen. Give virtue power, and you have a sure reliance, a reliance which nothing else can give, that that power will not be used to injure those who bestow it.

Neither can it be denied, and it is not denied, that for talents and experience, Mr. Adams stands preeminent. His talents have been tested in a long life of public services : it is not enough to say that they have borne him through his long career without apparent deficiency—they have borne him through it honorably—triumphantly—gloriously. In every station, he has stood high, if not the highest, in that station. Every duty he has performed, not merely well, but ably—not merely deserving approbation—but commanding applause. His long experience has made him intimately acquainted with all our diversified interests, and with all our relations, domestic and foreign. His view has not been, of necessity, confined to one portion of our country, nor to one department of our government ; but, from the high stations he has occupied, he has been able, and been habituated, to extend it over the whole, to take in all the parts, and to regard this entire country as his country, engrossing his warmest attachments, and demanding his faithful services.

We, fellow citizens, have for the last three years, witnessed his conduct in the office which he has again been recommended to fill. In our view, that conduct has been worthy of approbation. He has not infringed our constitution nor our laws : he has not deprived us of our privileges nor violated our rights : he has administered the laws with a hand so firm and steady, that while they guard our lives and property, we feel them not. No country on the globe ever presented such a cheering example—such a brilliant illustration of the value and blessings of liberty, as this. Nothing is wanted but a willingness to be satisfied with the highest por-

tion of prosperity and enjoyment that is compatible with the imperfect condition of humanity.

And yet complaints are heard, and our government is embarrassed with opposition. Against these complaints, more especially against some of them, we feel bound to utter our severest reprobation. It has been asserted, and the charge has been made by a disappointed rival, who, if he has other merits, has certainly not shewn the virtue of magnanimity, that the election of Mr. Adams was obtained by "bargain and corruption." We will not recite the proofs that this charge is false. The witnesses referred to by the accuser have pronounced it false. All those who could, and who must, have known the fact, if any such existed, have pronounced it false. The greatest and best men of our country,—nay, he whose eminent and expansive virtues have made him a citizen of the world,—whom no man with an American heart can disbelieve—whom the affections of all went out to meet and to welcome, in his late splendid progress through the land—have denounced it as an unfounded calumny. It is unsupported by evidence and contradicted by a mass of testimony, which no candid man can doubt. So triumphantly has this charge been cast back upon its authors, that we advert to it now, not so much to assert the innocence of the accused, as to shew the character and spirit of the accuser.

It is for the same reason that we notice the complaint that the president, feeling sympathy for the young republics of this hemisphere, recommended that delegates be sent to meet representatives from these republics at Panama. This act placed Mr. Adams in the attitude of the friend of freedom,—of the protector of American independence and of oppressed humanity—and of the watchful guardian of our own interests, immediate and remote. The opposition, by their resistance to this measure, assumed the attitude of favorers of European domination over the new world—of friends of the Holy Alliance and of Spain, and evinced a cold and heartless indifference to the cause of freedom, which we once hoped would never have palsied an American heart.

Mr. Adams is accused, also, of an extravagant expenditure of the public money. This charge, fellow citizens, should not be readily believed; it is easily made, and is always made by those who wish to usurp the places which others hold. Some color is attempted to be given to this charge, by the display of sums which seem enormous to citizens of moderate fortunes, by keeping out of sight the purposes for which

they have been expended, and the astonishing increase of our population, which has necessarily increased our expenditures. But they should reflect, that the means, the necessities and the operations of nations are far different from those of individuals. They should reflect that the president is not answerable for expenditures, which Congress, who represent the people, require and prescribe. They should reflect, that Mr. Adams, on every occasion, has enjoined upon these representatives a rigid observance of the strictest economy.— They should consider, that he has enforced his precept by his example, having forborne to expend a large sum, placed by Congress, in his hands, to repair and furnish the house appropriated for the use of the president. They should consider, that in the three years of his administration, thirty-three millions of the public debt have been paid; which is three millions more than were paid during the last three years of Mr. Monroe's administration;—and that notice is already given, that a farther sum of five millions, will be paid in July next. They should consider that, within the last three years, the sum of twelve millions of dollars, appropriated by Congress, have been applied to works of national defence, internal improvements, and other objects of permanent value and importance. They should consider, too, that the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse, the only expenses over which the president has unlimited discretion, have been, upon an average, during Mr. Adams's administration, less, by more than \$8000 a year, than during Mr. Monroe's, and less, by more than \$31000 a year, than during Mr. Madison's; and yet new nations have been continually springing into existence, with which our interest requires that we should form treaties and hold communication. These are statements which cannot be refuted: they are facts which cannot be denied: they shew, conclusively, that the present administration has been more economical than the two preceding ones: and that, instead of becoming more and more extravagant, which is too often the fault of governments, ours, under the administration of Mr. Adams, is becoming yearly, more and more economical.

For the office of Vice-President, the Convention recommend RICHARD RUSH, of Pennsylvania. He is descended from one of the purest Revolutionary patriots: he is conspicuous for his talents, and distinguished for his virtues and industry. He has had long and varied experience in high and important posts, and is, in every respect, well qualified

for any station to which the votes of his fellow citizens, or future events, may raise him.

Those who wish to effect a change in the administration have proposed, as their candidates, ANDREW JACKSON, of Tennessee, and JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South-Carolina. They reside in almost contiguous states, and near the remotest extreme of this Union. They are supported there because they are men of "southern views and southern feelings." Were this the first manifestation of sectional feeling, on their part, no allusion would now be made to it. But, for thirty-two years out of forty, our presidents have been natives of the south. At the last election, nearly all the votes given, in that section, for both offices, were given to southern candidates. Can this have been required by considerations of duty? Do not the states north of the Potomac contain men of equal talents and equal merit? In what have these states offended, that they should be forever proscribed?

We have patiently borne this exclusion until it has become our duty to assert our equal claims. To submit longer would be to assent to our degradation, and to deserve it. It would encourage and perpetuate a sectional spirit, which we deprecate and abhor. We should be regardless of the precepts of WASHINGTON did we not resist and endeavor to crush it; and we would endeavor to crush it, wherever it appears, whether in the south or in the north.

We have patiently borne, not only this denial of our just claims, but reproach, and insult. We have been told, that we should be "nailed to the counter as base coin." These states, in which the spark of liberty first glowed into a flame, have been rejected from the list of "patriot states." Our feelings have been disregarded; our interests have been sacrificed; and they will continue to be sacrificed until we shew the spirit to defend them. We trust we shall be pardoned for saying these things; we say them more in sorrow than in anger. Would to God that our fellow citizens, who fought with us, and suffered with us, to win the blessings of liberty, would be content that we should enjoy, equally with them, the privileges they confer.

It would sensibly diminish our regret, on this occasion, were the candidate, whom they recommend in opposition to Mr. Adams, even equally qualified for that high office; were he as distinguished for his private virtues, his talents, experience, or public services. But the facts elicited in this contest, shew, that in none of these respects, has he equal claims

to the confidence and support of his fellow citizens, and that in many, the contrast, unfavorable to him, is obvious and striking. We are compelled, unwillingly, to believe, that his adherents are urged to support him by the impulse of that feeling which we deprecate; and we cannot disguise our apprehensions, that his elevation would tend to produce that disregard of merit and qualifications, in candidates for office, which would degrade in our own eyes, and prostrate, in time, our republican institutions. To them our devotion is sincere, and our attachment is ardent. To them we would sacrifice, all local considerations, and all personal partialities. For them our fathers fought; it is incumbent on us to make exertions to protect and preserve them.

We have said, that, in our view, General Jackson is not qualified for the office of President. We feel justified in saying this, by the fact, that he has had little experience in civil offices, and that, in no such office, has he ever displayed even mediocrity of talent. At the bar, on the bench, in the Senate of the United States, his associates were, most of them, his superiors. If elected, could he possibly, even with the best intentions, discharge the complicated and arduous duties of President? Would not the power be wielded by other hands, and by hands to which you would be unwilling, for one moment, to entrust it?

But we oppose his election for still stronger reasons than his want of qualifications. His public conduct has been at war with all our republican feelings and principles.

He has violated our constitution, by arresting and imprisoning, without warrant and without necessity, a member of a state legislature, and a judge, who had dared to assert the supremacy of civil over military law, and to question the omnipotence of his arbitrary will.

He has violated the laws of the land and of humanity, by ordering militia men to be shot for leaving the camp after their legal term of service had expired.

He has shewn his contempt of state sovereignty, by declaring to the Governor of Georgia, that "when he was in the field, the governor had no right to issue a military order."

He has repeatedly set examples of insubordination, by disobeying the orders of the President.

And his whole life has evinced an arbitrary temper, not congenial with our institutions, and justifying fears of disastrous consequences, should the sword be entrusted to his hands, and no power be left above him, to control its use or to wrest it from him.

In speaking thus of Gen. Jackson, we say no more than many of his present friends have often said. We say no more, we truly believe, than facts, fully proved, will warrant. We say no more than our duty requires us to say, in discussing before you this important question, the decision of which involves the prosperity of our dearest interests, and the preservation of our most valuable privileges.

Will you, fellow citizens of New-Hampshire, displace JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, and bestow upon *Andrew Jackson* the reward due to private and public virtue and to talents? Will you discard a public servant, whom you have long tried and found always faithful; who has guarded your rights at home, preserved peace abroad, and administered the government with the strictest economy, and raise to the highest civil station, a man who has been brought to your notice solely by the fortunate event of a single battle? Will you prove recreant to those moral virtues for which your pilgrim fathers were distinguished? and to those political principles, for which in later times, your revolutionary fathers hazarded life and fortune. Your free constitution was the fruit and the reward of their unexampled efforts and sufferings: Will you, by your own votes, entrust it, or by your own supineness permit it to be entrusted, to the guardianship of its violator.

Let no one say he will stand indifferent in this contest. In a crisis like this it is incumbent on every citizen to act, and to act decidedly and fearlessly.—The possibility of defeat on the one hand, and the most cheering prospects of success on the other, are sufficient motives to impel every man to do his duty. We beseech you all to inquire, with seriousness and candor, what that duty is, and then to permit no consideration to deter you from performing it.

ANDREW PEIRCE, *Chairman.*

SAM. D. BELL,
WM. H. Y. HACKETT, } *Secretaries.*

SPEECH OF MR. BARTLETT,

Before the Convention of the People, at the Capitol, in New-Hampshire, on the 12th of June.

The Resolutions, approving the nominations of Messrs. ADAMS and RUSH, having been read, the Honorable ICHABOD BARTLETT addressed the meeting.

He said, that the important occasion on which they were assembled, was his apology for asking, for a short time, the attention of the Convention. Such an assembly, coming together to deliberate upon questions affecting their rights, and the institutions by which those rights are secured to them, can never be contemplated but with deep interest. Our government, under the present Constitution, has been in operation but little more than half the age of man, with a success, that while its blessings were every where surrounding us, our happiness and prosperity had already become the admiration of the world. Under such circumstances, the period returns, at which that constitution devolves upon us the duty of designating an individual for the office of chief magistrate. The question before the people, is—*Who shall be your President for the next term of four years?*

Need I ask, said Mr. BARTLETT, what considerations ought to influence us in coming to a decision of that question? The office was not created, and no honest man will propose to confer it, merely to compliment a favorite, nor will any independent man surrender his own judgment, on that subject, to the solicitations of aspiring demagogues, or the denunciations of assuming dictators. We should ask ourselves, in the spirit of candour, *who is best fitted to discharge the duties of that high station with honor to the country, and security to our rights?* And a regard for the memory of those mighty minds, who formed our government—for the prosperity of ourselves and the generations around us—for the blessings we hope to transmit to future ages, should guide us in our answer to that inquiry. That a difference of sentiment, on such a subject, should exist, ought neither to surprise us, nor to produce regret. Such difference belongs to the institutions of freedom. It is only in the dead calm of despotism, that no parties exist. Diversity of opinion, when regulated by a spirit of candor and a regard for truth, cannot but lead to the most happy results. It however ceases to be harmless, when it ceases to be such a difference of sentiment as could exist in honest minds, seeking for truth. It ceases to be harmless, when the real, or pretended admiration of an idol, would silence all inquiry into his merits; and when it wages a ruthless and indiscriminate warfare, upon all, who will not, at bidding, fall down and worship before it. It ceases to be harmless, when am-

bitious office seekers believe, that the inquiries of the people into the qualifications of a candidate, can be satisfactorily answered with the blast of a bugle, or a shout of "hurrah" for their favourite. It ceases to be harmless, when a spirit of party prevails, that, to *put down* those who administer the government, would prostrate with them the most sacred of its institutions.

We are not insensible to the movements around us. And claiming for the citizens of this state, that they are *reasonable* men, may we not ask, in their behalf, for the *reasons* of the present efforts, in this vicinity, in opposition to the government. Wherefore is it, that a proclamation hath gone forth from this place, to all the *non-elected* candidates for office, to those in whom their fellow citizens did *not* confide, to assemble and devise measures to resist the will of the majority of the state? Are our rulers betraying the trust reposed in them? Are they attempting to wrest from the people their rights, and have our servants indeed turned traitors to their employers and to the Republic? As we would answer before Heaven, so let us solemnly answer to our own consciences.

What was the condition of this community, and what the universal sentiment in this state, three years ago? What causes now exist to change that sentiment, and when were such causes discovered? I repeat the question—I ask for an answer. Acclamations of joy, commencing at this Capitol, were then echoed from every hill and dale—from every cottage to our remotest borders. And wherefore was this? The people of this state then learned, that their unanimous judgment, as expressed by their own ballots, had been affirmed by the unanimous vote of their agents, delegated for that duty, and by a majority of the states of the Union, as provided by the constitution, and that their *first choice* was elevated to the first office in the Union—in the world. The people, the *whole people*, rejoiced to have aided in placing in that station, the faithful, the long tried patriot—the protege, yes, though in youth, the fellow laborer of Washington, the fellow laborer of Jefferson, Madison, Monroë. Their rejoicings, too, were, as they should have been, enhanced by the just and honest pride, that the citizen so distinguished, was a favorite son of New-England.—Again, I ask, what *cause* now exists why a different feeling should any where prevail? What new treason has been discovered? What new principle avowed? What new policy attempted? Does an individual pretend that there is any? To whom then does the charge of *apostacy*—of change, apply—and who has yet been able to assign a *reason* for such change?

This cry of resistance, is to be found in causes not connected with any fault of those, who administer the government. Demagogues, when they would promote their own unhallowed purposes, have always been liberal of professions for the welfare of the people, and have seconded such professions with efforts to produce dissatisfaction and distrust among them. Yet, if we advert to the origin of the present opposition, the principles they avowed, and the pretences by which they have endeavored to execute their designs, it will be seen, that there never was a party, whose unhallowed purposes were so glaringly exposed. And who were they, who *first* formed the nucleus around which a *party* has been

attempted to be gathered? Were they those, who honestly held any common sentiment on the great questions of the construction of the Constitution, differing from the opinion of the Executive? Were they those, who held any common sentiment upon the form, or manner of administering the government, different from the Executive? Were they those, who were actuated by any other common sentiment, than the *one* determination *per fas aut nefas* to thrust the present incumbents from their places, and seize, as many of them as can, upon the vacant offices? The origin of the opposition was in the combination of the disappointed adherents of all the unsuccessful candidates, who had so attached themselves, not from principle, but for the hope of office merely. In that little band, as at first organized, could be found the greatest latitudinarians, in Constitutional construction, with the most rigid interpreters of the text—the advocates for the protection of domestic industry, and the standard bearers of the party for a dissolution of the Union, if the system is persisted in. In that little band were to be found the *ultras*—the ends and fragments of every party. It was not the millennial lying down together of “the lion and the lamb,” but an association which hunger had formed, to hunt their prey in company, and for the possession of which, if ever reached, they will be seen seizing at each others’ throats. The only bond of union for such a combination, could fairly be inferred from the heterogeneous character of it, but it was here openly and boldly avowed. The unbiassed judgment of the nation had designated the present incumbent, John Quincy Adams, as a candidate for re-election to the office of President, while the opposition have united to support Andrew Jackson; and the first principle avowed by them was to destroy Mr. Adams in the confidence of the people. The great leader of *Opposition*, (and he well deserves that title, who has opposed, with all his power, every administration from the commencement of his political life, to the present hour) that distinguished leader, declared before the legislature of the nation, that, from the moment the vote was declared, he commenced his opposition—that, like the famous race at New-York, “he set off from the starting post, and had determined to go through under whip and spur.” Yes—from that moment, his maxim was “*delenda est Carthago*”—of which his own translation was, “the administration shall be destroyed.” It was the same reckless spirit, which induced even a grave senator to make the blasphemous declaration, that “though pure as the angels at the right hand of the throne of God, the administration should be put down.”

What might not have been anticipated of a party originating with such persons and avowing such principles, as their bond of union. Let me not be misunderstood—I speak only of those *leaders*, who formed the combination, and not of the many honest, virtuous and patriotic citizens whom falsehoods may have deceived, or fraud cheated into error. No—such I entreat to appeal to their own good sense and integrity, and try the *pretences* of their deceivers by those standards. A party, having its origin of such materials, for such a purpose, and avowing such principles, of course, was not to pursue its object with any regard to the laws of society, or social order. All means were to be justified—detraction—false-

hood and violence. Among the false pretences used to deceive the people, it is not the least insulting to their understanding, that such a combination should claim to be "the Republican party."—They have had the effrontery—the unblushing impudence to pretend to be *the republican party*. Such an assertion is a libel upon the honest, patriotic republican citizens of this state. What—is it now republicanism to oppose the policy and principles of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe? Is that republicanism, which is made up of the conflicting elements of all political opinions! Is that republicanism, which, in the language of one of the chiefs of the opposition will set about "to calculate the value of the Union"—in other words, will *dissolve the Union*, unless the other states will adopt all the peculiarities of opinion of the Virginia school. Is that the republicanism of the present day, as illustrated in some of the most distinguished of the opposition party, in the resolutions of Georgia, now upon that table, asserting doctrines and principles, compared with which, the former objectionable political tenets of a neighboring governor, were practically harmless. What sort of republicanism is that, which for personal purposes avowedly seeks to put down "right or wrong," those who administer the government? It is fit republicanism to be advocated by the distinguished editor of the Evening Post and his worthy coadjutors. "I'll none of it."

The objections against the administration are not urged by the *principals* in this unholy league, because they now are, or ever were believed to have any foundation, but with a hope, that some portion of the community may listen to them. And of this character, too, is the worn out story of *bargain and corruption in the election*. I am aware, that this and the other topics I must notice, are more than a "thrice told tale," and though as often refuted, its dying sounds are yet reverberating in the distance, where truth seldom can keep pace with the messengers of falsehood. When was this wickedness discovered? Was it before the inauguration of the chief magistrate, and before his opponent, on that day, took him by the hand, and in the face of the nation congratulated him on his elevation to that office? Yes, it has been pretended, that, before that date,—and before the crime was consummated, that individual was apprized of what was to be done, and yet, when an investigation was demanded, all was silence on his part, and the refusal to answer on the part of his friends. It was not then determined to make this a "point in the case." We were afterwards asked to believe the fact—because a witness to prove it could be named—and our faith was demanded in anticipation, and given in anticipation, by all, who have given it at all. The witness was compelled to come forth, and in the presence of the nation, he said "he would not speak of corruption in the election"—"if there was any," said he, "I know it not!"—When proof fails, we are told, that the fact, that Mr. Adams appointed to office an individual, who voted for him, needs no other proof of corruption. The tears of such mourners at the tomb of Jefferson would blast the cypress and the laurel, which a nation's love should cherish there. His appointments, under similar circumstances, were ten times the number.

Have those, who have sounded, so long and loud, their complaints upon the Panama Mission, ever told the people, what was the sin of the Executive of which they complain?

The governments struggling for freedom in the southern hemisphere proposed a meeting of Ministers to consult, and, if possible, devise measures for the common good. An invitation was made to the President for this country to be present. He must either reject the application, absolutely, or he must permit the Senate to pass upon it, and accept, or reject.—They accepted and Congress made provision. I will not say what would have been the clamor, had he refused to submit the question. Had such been the decision, thousands of ink balls which have since been busied in other slanders, would have leaped forth to blacken his character and stamp the imputation of monarchical partialities upon the President.

The *colonial trade* would afford but a poor theme for the opponents of the government,—but a poor apology for their taking the side of Great Britain against their own country, if they would state fairly the facts in relation to it. It is pretended to have been *sacrificed* by the *misconduct* of the Executive. Before the present Executive came into power, the question between us and Great Britain was contested, whether we should be admitted to trade at her W. I. Islands upon the same terms, as her own colonies.—Soon after the organization of the present cabinet, the other principles of compromise having been before acceded to by Great Britain, our government receded from the claim of that right, yet Great Britain refused to conform to the stipulations before assented to, and the law then existing had to take its course. Whatever might have been the consequences, no blame could have attached to the Executive.—But another fact is not less satisfactory, that such diligence has been used and such success too attended the efforts of the executive in forming treaties with other powers holding possessions in those seas, that our commerce has been improved instead of sacrificed.

Another pretence, to which I must advert, that has been seized upon to excite and mislead the people, is the charge of—*extravagant expenditure of public money by the Executive*. This is a subject on which I am glad to find the people ever vigilant, and had there been any foundation for the charge made, it would of itself be sufficient, and the great mint might have suspended any further coinings of political falsehoods. On this subject I have been charged with saying, that “no government on earth expended money with so lavish a hand as ours”—a statement I never uttered, and I refer to the National Intelligencer of Dec. 30, 1826, the only paper, that pretends to report the debates in the language of the speaker.—It there appears, that I was speaking of the mode of *appropriation* by Congress upon resolutions, which I offered, to reform that mode, so that the estimates for appropriations for the different departments should be referred to the separate committees upon the matters of those departments, instead of being all referred to the committee of Ways and Means, as is now the practice. What I said was, that “it would be found there is no government on earth where appropriations are made in the manner they are in ours.”—The same resolutions were renewed at

the last session. "In evil hour"—in evil hour to his party, a member of the opposition introduced the Retrenchment resolutions. He was a new recruit, and not well disciplined in the corps. He, no doubt, believed, that all the clamor of his associates was not without some cause.—The more wary chief, however, rebuked him for thus meddling and giving "what *he* would not give, the administration an opportunity to vindicate itself."—The result of the thousands upon thousands expended in making accusations in Congress, and in vain attempts to sustain them, is before the public in the shape of a report and a resolution. In the discussion of those resolutions such topics were selected, as were supposed to furnish the best ground of attack upon the administration: and among them, the contingent expenses of foreign intercourse were set forth in all the array of prodigality. But I speak from the records under the hand of the Register of the Treasury, when I say, that an official statement of this item of expense back for 15 years, shews the average annual expenditure of this fund in Mr. Adams' administration, thus far, to be more than EIGHT THOUSAND DOLLARS less, than the least annual average of the two preceding administrations from the period named.

The majority of the Committee, however, having determined to encounter fate and fact with a proportionate zeal in their efforts, seized upon the expenditure of the sum for *secret service money*, as a theme on which to hang their hopes and save themselves awhile from total despair. More than *twelve thousand dollars*, it was found had been paid of this fund in 1825, 6 and 7—though less than the average of Mr. Madison's administration, much more, than that of Mr. Monroe—\$12,000 *secret service money* was blazoned forth in the report—\$12,000 *secret service money* was echoed and re-echoed in speeches and circulars, "expended by the *present* administration for *unknown* objects"—\$12,000 *secret service money*, repeated the less scrupulous editors, "expended by Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay for electioneering purposes." Such color was attempted to be given, when the majority of that committee *refused* to be informed of the truth, by the Secretary of State, who proposed to communicate to them all the facts, in a confidential communication. Where can the authors of that pitiful attempt at deception hide their heads, when they read the official report from the State Department, made by order of the President? By that report it appears that of the above sum of \$12,000, \$1,700 was actually paid before Mr. Adams had come into office, and the whole balance of the \$12,000, except \$1,500, was expended under orders and measures adopted by Mr. Monroe, and with which Mr. Adams had no agency, except to fix the compensation, being the same heretofore allowed—and that the \$1,500, the only sum for the expenditure of which Mr. Adams is chargeable, instead of being appropriated to electioneering purposes, was expended in sending an agent to Cuba, on a most important occasion, and one, in which the peace and interest of the country are deeply involved. Comment is not necessary on such efforts and such results. A not less unfortunate statement has been made in public, by some volunteer aids of the committee, that the current *ordinary* expenditures of Mr. Adams's administration, exceed those of his predecessor by near sev-

en millions of dollars. I state upon the official certificate of the Register of the Treasury, and say, that the whole amount of *all* the estimates of appropriations for the service of the year, submitted by that Department, in the eight years of Mr. Monroe's administration, amounted to \$97,000,000, omitting the fractions—that the same estimates, in the three years of Mr. Adams's administration, amount to \$31,000,000, making the annual average in the latter *less* than the annual average in the former administration, by more than ONE MILLION SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS. Whoever dare deny this is himself contradicted by the record of the Department. After all the parade and mountain like labors of that committee, the only measure brought forth, is *one* poor resolution respecting the public printing-- and that *lies upon the table*, "unhonored and unsung." I ought, however, to do the chairman the justice to say, that he *promises* much more at a future session, the performance of which, of course, depends upon some *contingencies*. The report of the majority of that committee, by the manner in which the investigations were conducted, the matter set forth, the inferences made, and the apparent feeling and temper, with which the whole is done up, may perhaps, hereafter, attain to a level with the famous *Black Book* of a certain modern commentator upon "men and manners."

If there be nothing to object to in the great principles sustained by the present administration—in the policy pursued—the measures adopted, and the manner their duties have been discharged, we are compelled to inquire, whether objections exist to the *personal character, habits, education or acquirements* of the present incumbent. I know, that an accusation has been made against him, which, if true, he would deserve a place in the dungeons of yonder penitentiary, instead of the highest office in the nation. And to our shame, it must be confessed, that New-Hampshire is disgraced with having given publicity to the infamous slander. I know it is stated, that I called the publisher of the pamphlet referred to, a *blackguard* and *foul libeller*. Sir, I deal not in such epithets: I have made no such charge: nor did I deem it necessary. The titles were bestowed upon him, with what justice others must judge, in the hall of Congress, by two of the most distinguished of his managers, and whom he has affected to claim as friends. I shall not interfere between them. Society does not furnish examples of characters of higher purity, than those, which, in that publication were assailed. The President's residence is such, that a father—a husband, may introduce there his daughter—his wife—and not blush for their degradation—not tremble for the danger of the corrupting influence of example in high stations.

The life of the President is a practical illustration, in their simplicity and purity, of those republican virtues, which form the only permanent foundation of our institutions. His integrity—his untiring industry and application to business, and his undisputed talents and acquirements, secure to us all, that in the course of human events can be made certain, of success to his efforts for the greatest good of our common country.

Is there that in the *personal character, the habits, education, temper, or principles*, of the opposing candidate, that justifies the pref-

erence of his supporters? His history is before the people—I will not dwell upon it. There is much of it, to which it gives me no pleasure to advert. Some of his principles he claims to have imbibed in the revolution. If he was over nine years of age at the commencement of it, his own biographer will prove his birth to have been in a foreign country, and that he could not now be eligible to the office to which he aspires. But whenever and wherever such principles were acquired, can we have been so enamoured of the exhibition as to prefer him over the person now in office, for President of the United States? Are they witnessed in his opinion upon the rights of voters in the convention of Tennessee—in his judgment recorded in the Journals of Congress, upon the policy and administration of WASHINGTON—in his proposed mode of removing Indian Agents from office—in his treatment of a member of the Legislature, Judge and District attorney in Louisiana—in his disposition of militia men—in his commissioning an army without law to march into Florida—his conduct there—the arbitrary edicts issued as governor, for the abrogation of which, the interference of Congress was required—in the menaces uttered against one senator of the United States in the discharge of his duty, or the assault upon another, as set forth under the hand of the senator himself?—That people, who choose to live in a land of law, and where the law shall be superior to the will of the individual, must answer for themselves.

There is an objection urged against Mr. Adams, which I have not noticed—which I would not notice, had it not been repeatedly, publicly, urged in high places, and by men of exalted stations—and shall I state that objection in the hearing of this assembly? And will the independent, high minded citizens of this state endure to hear it? In the senate of the Union, under the sanction of its presiding officer, it has been urged against the President, that he is a PURITAN and a YANKEE!!—a *puritan* and a *Yankee*—“the white slaves” by whom he has said they will govern us—the “base coin,” which he will yet “nail to the counter.” If there are any, who deserve such reproach, I care not how soon they are ‘nailed to the counter,’ or their ears to the pillory. I boast the honor of parentage from the descendants of Puritans, and desire to thank God, that *I am a Yankee*. And who were the puritans, that the title shall now be a reproach? The puritans were those, who first proclaimed the principles of political and religious freedom—who first kindled on our shores the torch of liberty, and fanned the flame, till the blaze ascending to the zenith, has already cast its light upon the darkest regions of despotism.—And who are the Yankees? Let the history of the revolution answer—Let the deeds of the gallant sons of N. England tell, who then held the shield between the enemy and the devoted heads of the citizens of those states, who now make this a reproach. It was a Yankee to whom the mistress of the Ocean surrendered her first flag in the late war. The *Yankee* history is recorded in the battles of Lake Erie, Bridgewater, Plattsburgh, and Champlain. It was a Yankee to whose genius this same Southern section is indebted for that more than philosopher’s stone, which has covered her fields

with the great source of her wealth. I know we ought not to encourage sectional feelings and prejudices, but even the most liberal interpretation of the scripture injunctions does not require of us, when declared to be 'base coin', 'white slaves,' to establish its truth, by assenting to the justice of such imputations. Our fathers gave us not that lesson of degradation—the mothers, who bore us, would blush with shame for such pusillanimity in their sons.

That such reasons—such *pretences*, as have been urged against the re-election of the President—that such motives, as have been stated for preferring his opponent should not have prevailed with the intelligent freemen of this nation, must have been expected—and I rejoice to say, that every day is adding proofs that such expectation will be realized.

The deep sense of the importance of this subject cannot but be forcibly impressed upon me, by the presence of those who compose this assembly. It is not personal gratification of partiality or pride of opinion—it is not to act upon any matter of light concern, that has brought together, on this occasion, so many of those patriots, who with the vigor of youth and manhood have sustained our rights, who, in other times have borne the heat and burthen of the day, till their heads are now whitened with the frosts of age. With no less feeling of conscious security, I see mingled with them, those of middle age, yet ardent in the busy scenes of life, whose judgments matured by the counsels of wisdom will be enforced with the energies of manhood—and with them, too, the *young men*, to whom we hope to transmit unimpaired our institutions, and to whom we must look, hereafter, to sustain them. Ours, too, is a cause, for the success of which we need not fear to ask the blessing of Heaven. It is the cause of that country, which a kind Providence, in its severest trials, has protected and prospered, and under whose influence we pray and believe, it yet will prosper.

* * The above is not offered as a perfect report of Mr. B.'s remarks—It is made from no other means than recollection. The substance of the sentiments advanced, it is believed, are correctly stated.

☞ The Convention was also briefly addressed by the Hon. SAMUEL BELL, the Hon. JOSEPH HEALY, and Hon. DAVID BARKER, Jun.—who respectively bore testimony to the ability and integrity which mark the course of the Administration; and fully concurred in the sentiments so ably expressed by the Hon. Mr. BARTLETT.

TESTIMONIALS

TO THE TALENTS AND WORTH OF J. Q. ADAMS.

OPINION OF WASHINGTON.

"I give it as my decided opinion, that Mr. Adams is the most VALUABLE PUBLIC CHARACTER we have abroad, and there remains no doubt on my mind, that he will prove himself to be the ablest of our diplomatic corps." "The public, more and more, as he is known, are appreciating his talents and worth; and his country would suffer a loss if these were to be neglected."—[*Letter to John Adams, 20th Feb. 1796.*]

OPINION OF JEFFERSON.

"This will be handed you by young Mr. Adams. He being the son of your particular friend, renders unnecessary from me those commendations which I could with truth enter into. I CONGRATULATE YOUR COUNTRY on her prospects in this young man."—[*Letter to Mr. Gerry, from Paris, 12th May, 1785.*]

OPINION OF MONROE.

"I shall take a person for the Department of State from the eastward; and Mr. Adams, by long service in our diplomatic concerns appearing to entitle him to the preference, supported by his acknowledged ABILITIES and INTEGRITY, his nomination will go to the Senate."—[*Letter to Gen. Jackson, in 1817.*]

OPINION OF CHIEF-JUSTICE MARSHALL.

"I admit having said in private, that, though I had not voted since the establishment of the general ticket system, and had believed that I never should vote during its continuance, I might probably depart from my resolution in this instance, from THE STRONG SENSE I FELT OF THE INJUSTICE OF THE CHARGE OF CORRUPTION against the President and Secretary of State."—[*Letter to J. H. Pleasants, March 29, 1828.*]

OPINION OF JUDGE WASHINGTON,

The intimate friend and nephew of the father of his Country.

"Believing that the UTMOST PURITY OF CONDUCT attended the election of Mr. J. Q. Adams to the office which he now holds and has so ably administered, I have never hesitated, when a fit occasion offered, to express my sentiments in favor of his re-election to the Presidential Chair."—[*Letter to J. C. Hunter, June 17, 1828.*]

GEN. JACKSON'S OPINION.

"I have no hesitation in saying you have made the best selection to fill the department of state that could be made. Mr. Adams in the hour of difficulty will be an able helpmate, and I am convinced his appointment will afford general satisfaction."—[*Letter to Mr. Monroe in 1817.*]

FORMER OPINION OF LEVI WOODEURY.

[From his Vindication of Mr. Adams' Oration, published in 1821.]

"We are aware that the attacks on Mr. Adams may have been sharpened by causes which do not meet the ear. He has splendid qualifications to fill the highest office in the Union. *If some Cataline or his incendiaries, in the strife for supremacy, are already scattering fire brands and poison, it behoves every well wisher to the Republic to awake. It is one of Mr. Adams' peculiar excellencies, that while he is second to none in talents and experience, he makes neither personal influence nor exertion for what should always be the free gift of a free people.—If the character of Mr. Adams is destined to be mangled and even crucified to gratify British sycophants, or the sinister views of demagogues, whose path to office is obstructed by his virtues,*

"Let the tempest rage—
An honest man is still an unmoved rock,
Washed whiter but not shaken by the shock."

FORMER OPINIONS OF ISAAC HILL.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

"The more we contemplate the character of this able, assiduous, and excellent statesman and patriot—the further we witness his progress in the diplomatic history of our country; the more we see to admire and applaud."—*New-Hampshire Patriot*, January 11, 1820.

"Who will be the republican candidate is not so apparent. It will undoubtedly be, as in all former cases some man who "noble ends by noble means pursues"—some person *who is the antipodes of Clinton*. If we were to look for such a character, we feel a perfect confidence in saying, that NO MAN UNITES MORE OF THE QUALITIES OF THE HONEST, UPRIGHT, AND ABLE STATESMAN, THAN JOHN Q. ADAMS.

"Mr. Adams has at no time sought advancement, nor caught at honors which he did not deserve: he has never caballed with a party for his own aggrandizement, after denouncing that party in the most bitter terms: he never relaxed in zeal for the country at a trying crisis: he never supported an election by intrigues to tamper with votes in other states.

Mr. Adams' talents are fitted solely to rule in a republic, because republican governments can only be sustained by INTEGRITY and PLAIN DEALING.—*N. H. Patriot*, Aug. 8, 1820.

"If the choice of President was to depend on the Republican Voters of New-Hampshire, we do not doubt that, with the present impressions, Mr. ADAMS would be their man. THEY HONOR AND LOVE HIM, not only because he is a son of New-England, but because he possesses TALENTS of the first order, and because those talents, in times of peril, were devoted to the cause of his country."—*N. H. Patriot*, December 2, 1822.